

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----161925Z 023889 /40

O 161903Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3946
INFO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 08087

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: RH, PFOR, UK
SUBJECT: CONSULTATIVE GROUP MEETING WITH SITHOLE

REF: STATE 110060

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF UK TALKING POINTS PAPER PREPARED FOR
AMBASSADOR GRAHAM'S CONSULTATIONS WITH SITHOLE. REPORT
ON THE MEETING BEING SUBMITTED SEPTTEL.

BEGIN TEXT

AS A FIRST STEP, I MIGHT RUN OVER ONCE AGAIN THE THINK-
ING BEHIND THIS FRESH ATTEMPT TO ACHIEVE AN INDEPENDENT
ZIMBABWE, WITH MAJORITY RULE, IN 1978. YOU WILL HAVE
SEEN DR. OWEN'S STATEMENT IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON
19 APRIL. HERE IS A COPY FOR YOUR RECORDS. IN BRIEF
THE THOUGHT IS THAT IF WE COULD PRODUCE A CONSTITUTION
WHICH WAS MANIFESTLY FAIR, AND WHICH PROVIDED FOR A
DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT, ON THE BASIS OF A
WIDE FRANCHISE, PREFERABLY UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE, THE
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DIFFICULTIES OVER AGREEING ON THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE
TRANSITIONAL PERIOD SHOULD BECOME EASIER TO HANDLE.
WE SEE THE WHOLE PROCESS AS ONE: IT IS IMPORTANT THAT,
FROM THE HAND-OVER OF POWER BY MR. SMITH, THE PROCESS
SHOULD BE AUTOMATIC AND IRREVERSIBLE. THUS THE TRANSI-
TIONAL PERIOD, AFTER SMITH'S DEPARTURE AND THE RETURN
TO LEGALITY, WOULD BE RUN BY A CARETAKER ADMINISTRATION,

PERHAPS INCLUDING AN ELECTORAL COMMISSION OR SOME OTHER AGREED BODY TO ORGANIZE THE REGISTRATION OF VOTES, THE DELIMITATION OF CONSTITUENCIES, SUPERVISION OF THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN ITSELF AND THE ACTUAL VOTING AND COUNTING OF VOTES. THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE PROVISION ALSO FOR LEGAL CONTINUITY, AND FOR THE CONTROL OF THE POLICE AND ARMED FORCES - OF ALL PARTIES. AND FOR THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, THE FIGHTING MUST STOP AND SANCTIONS WOULD BE LIFTED.

WE SHALL BE WORKING THROUGHOUT IN THE CLOSEST COOPERATION AND WITH THE FULLEST SUPPORT OF THE US.

THERE CAN BE NO GUARANTEE OF SUCCESS IN THIS EFFORT. BUT MR. SMITH HAS TOLD US THAT HE ACCEPTS A PROGRAMME ON THESE LINES, AS AN OBJECTIVE, NOT A COMMITMENT. I TAKE THIS TO MEAN THAT IF HE THINKS THE TERMS ARE RIGHT HE WILL GIVE UP OFFICE. WE ARE PROCEEDING ON THAT BASIS, IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT THE TERMS MUST BE RIGHT IN THE EYES OF RHODESIANS OF ALL RACES, AND INDEED IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD, NOT JUST OF MR. SMITH. HOWEVER WITH US BACKING WE BELIEVE WE HAVE GREAT MEANS OF PRESSURE ON MR. SMITH. IF HE GOES AND THE PROCESS STARTS SAY BY MID-SUMMER NEXT YEAR, THAT WILL GIVE ZIMBABWE FULL INDEPENDENCE IN 1978, MUCH EARLIER THAN COULD BE ACHIEVED IN ANY OTHER WAY. AND IF HE DOES NOT, SANCTIONS AND THE FIGHTING WOULD GO ON.

I HAVE SAID THAT WE ENVISAGE A GOVERNMENT OF AN
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INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE THAT WOULD BE DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED ON THE BASIS OF A WIDE FRANCHISE. THE US GOVERNMENT AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT BELIEVE THAT THIS FRANCHISE SHOULD COMPRISE UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE; BUT THEY ARE OPEN TO HEAR THE PARTIES' VIEWS ON THIS. SIMILARLY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS BELIEVE THAT THERE SHOULD BE PROVISION FOR THE PROTECTION OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS. SUCH PROVISIONS, THOUGH PERHAPS IN UNSATISFACTORY FORM, HAVE FORMED PART OF THE PAST CONSTITUTIONS OF RHODESIA E.G. THE 1961 CONSTITUTION. TO BE EFFECTIVE SUCH A DECLARATION MUST BE JUSTICIABLE I.E. GIVE RISE TO A CAUSE OF ACTION FOR AN AGGRIEVED PARTY. OBVIOUSLY THE PRINCIPLES AND CONTENT WOULD BE FOR DISCUSSION, BUT IN PRINCIPLE THE TWO GOVERNMENTS BELIEVE THE DECLARATION SHOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. SUBJECT TO THESE POINTS, WE HAVE A FAIRLY OPEN MIND ON THE CONTENT OF AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND SHOULD LIKE TO HEAR YOUR VIEWS.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----161926Z 024015 /42

O 161903Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3947
INFO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
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EXDIS

IN GENERAL, AT GENEVA THE VIEW WAS EXPRESSED THAT A
UNICAMERAL SYSTEM SHOULD BE ADOPTED; AND THAT THE
GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE HEADED BY AN EXECUTIVE PRESIDENT.
(THE ALTERNATIVES ARE TO HAVE TWO CHAMBERS, PERHAPS
ELECTED ON DIFFERENT BASES, AND A CONSTITUTIONAL
PRESIDENT (OR A MONARCH) LIKE INDIA). IS THIS STILL
YOUR VIEW?

WHAT ARE YOUR IDEAS ON THE FRANCHISE?

WHAT ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS?

DO YOU CONSIDER THERE SHOULD BE ANY SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS
FOR MINORITY REPRESENTATION, E.G. BY PROPORTIONAL
REPRESENTATION, OR NOMINATION? WE ARE OPPOSED TO COM-
PLICATED PROCEDURES SUCH AS TWO ROLLS.

DO YOU HAVE ANY VIEWS ON THE METHOD OF ELECTION, SINGLE
MEMBER CONSTITUENCIES, OR SOME FORM OF PROPORTIONAL
REPRESENTATION (E.G. THE SINGLE TRANSFERABLE VOTE

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SYSTEM AS USED IN IRELAND OR THE LIST SYSTEM AS IN SWITZERLAND)?

TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

DO YOU THINK IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO MANAGE THIS UNDER A POWER SHARING TYPE OF ADMINISTRATION SIMILAR TO, BUT NOT NECESSARILY THE SAME AS, THE TYPE OF ADMINISTRATION WHICH WAS DISCUSSED AT GENEVA?

OR WOULD IT BE BETTER, SINCE THE PERIOD WOULD ONLY BE AS LONG AS SUFFICES FOR THE ORGANIZATION AND HOLDING OF ELECTIONS, WOULD IT BE BETTER TO HAVE A SEPARATE CARE-TAKER ADMINISTRATION, PERHAPS PROVIDED FROM OUTSIDE? THIS WOULD PERHAPS GIVE ALL PARTIES CONFIDENCE IN THE ADMINISTRATION'S LACK OF BIAS, AND ALLOW THE PARTIES THEMSELVES TO CAMPAIGN.

WOULD YOU PREFER BRITISH INVOLVEMENT OR WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE E.G. SOME COMMONWEALTH PARTICIPATION?

HOW DO YOU ENVISAGE CONTROLLING THE ARMED FORCES? CLEARLY THEY MUST BE BROUGHT UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE CARETAKER ADMINISTRATION, BUT WOULD IT BE DESIRABLE TO PLACE THEIR DAY-TO-DAY MANAGEMENT UNDER E.G. A NATIONAL SECURITY COMMITTEE PERHAPS WITH COMMONWEALTH PARTICIPATION?

WHAT IS YOUR ATTITUDE TO THE EXISTING RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES, THE ARMY, THE AIR FORCE, THE POLICE? WE ASSUME THAT AT LEAST THE HIGHER COMMAND WILL HAVE TO BE REPLACED AND THE TERRITORIALS AND SPECIAL FORCES (E.G. THE SELOUS SCOUTS) DISBANDED? WHAT ABOUT THE GUERRILLAS? SOME WILL WISH TO RETURN HOME, OR TO ENTER THE POLITICAL ARENA. CAN THE BALANCE BE EMBODIED IN THE FORCES OF A SOON-TO-BE INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE UNDER THE SECRET

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CARETAKER ADMINISTRATION? THERE MIGHT HAVE TO BE TRAINING?

THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION? PRESUMABLY THIS WILL HAVE TO CONTINUE IN ITS PRESENT FORM WITH A PHASED PROGRAMME OF AFRICANISATION.
THE JUDICIARY?

VALIDATION OF LAWS, THE COURTS?

INDEMNITY AND AMNESTY?

DEVELOPMENT

IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO GET THE ECONOMY GOING AGAIN,
SINCE THERE IS A SERIOUS UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM. WE EN-
VISAGE THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND HELPING HERE. OUR
OBJECT IS TO ENCOURAGE PEOPLE, INCLUDING THE WHITES, TO
STAY AND MAKE THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROSPERITY OF
ZIMBABWE.

DO YOU HAVE ANY VIEWS ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FUND?

AT A LATER STAGE WE SHALL WANT TO GO INTO THIS IN
DETAIL. OUR IDEA IS THAT THE FUND SHOULD BE MANAGED BY
THE WORLD BANK, IN AGREEMENT WITH THE ZIMBABWE GOVERN-
MENT. END TEXT SPIERS

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, POLICIES, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, MEETINGS, SELFDETERMINATION, BRIEFING MATERIALS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 16-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977LONDON08087
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770173-0618
Format: TEL
From: LONDON
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770553/aaaabtxv.tel
Line Count: 241
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: fb204693-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 77 STATE 110060
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2507209
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CONSULTATIVE GROUP MEETING WITH SITHOLE
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, RH, UK
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/fb204693-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009